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*Socialism and the American Spirit.* By N. P. GILMAN. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 12mo., pp. xviii. +376.

THIS book, by one who leans to a moderate individualism, is the best popular criticism of both the writings of Bellamy and the almost anarchistic individualism of Herbert Spencer, that has yet appeared. Mr. Gilman does not, however, fully appreciate the strength, or quite correctly state the ideals, of scientific Socialism, as distinct from less scientific but better known Nationalism. The latter proposes equality of reward, and speedy nationalizing or municipalizing of all capital. The former, as best represented now by the Fabian Socialists and the later views of Gronlund, proposes industrial reward by salary or wages, according to industrial achievement, and expects only a very gradual taking-over of business management by government, as one business after another shall first become a unified trust or monopoly in private hands. The justice, practicability, and difficulties of such an idea have been appreciatively but vigorously criticised by Graham, in his recent *Socialism New and Old*.

Few modern Socialists would be greatly affected by any criticism of a Nationalism to come in 1950, unless at least accompanied by a vigorous treatment of the present growth of trusts, and of large fortunes through individually unearned rise of land values, and gambling in the stock market; and a treatment further of the enormously corrupting influence exerted upon our legislatures, city councils, and assessors by those desirous of securing special privileges or of escaping their share of tax burdens. Yet only passing reference, in the main just reference, is made to such points by Mr. Gilman.

Having been forced to say this much in partial criticism, it gives the writer of this review great pleasure to turn to the undoubted excellencies of this strong work. They largely consist in pointing out and urging such ameliorative measures as, on the one hand, the philanthropic, rich, and far-sighted but justice-loving employer should enter upon; or, on the other hand, such improvements as a more thorough application of admitted state activities can accomplish. Under the first head are placed industrial conciliation, arbitration, profit sharing, endowment of libraries, art galleries, etc. Under the second head are placed, among other things, compulsory education, factory legislation, sanitation, state and national commissions to control railroads and

trusts, and municipal ownership of water, electric light, and gas works.

Several short quotations will serve to indicate the spirit of the book. "The governing powers in America need purification to-day rather than an enlargement of their field." "If human society is now so evil as to need complete transformation after thousands of years of life on this planet, where is the just foundation for hope that all will be well under any scheme, since this is to be administered, of necessity, by the same human nature." "One gives no sign of immorality, no indication of selfishness, if he expresses distrust of the fitness of Socialism—in the general sense of a 'theory of government which favors the interference of the state in the affairs of individuals'—to promote the general welfare, and prefers the method of individualism." "Socialism, when roughly defined as the doctrine that the welfare of all deserves first consideration, is commending itself more and more strongly to thoughtful minds of the present generation." "There is no sentiment of individualism in this country strong enough to discourage the activity of the state in quarters where it would obviously be helpful to a large number of citizens, and where these could not reach the desired result otherwise except at a much greater outlay of time and trouble."

"That many of the undeniable corruptions of our political life result from the equal suffrage of all men, without regard to education or capacity, and that we have escaped our greatest dangers as a people through the counterbalance afforded by the free play of natural aristocracy in the industrial world,—these are considerations of the utmost importance which the Nationalist neglects." "It is full time that the employing class, as a whole, should do something more toward the fundamental and rational settlement of labor troubles than simply to resist organizations of workingmen conscious of their power, but not yet wise enough to use that power fairly. We rightly condemn the obvious excesses of the Knights of Labor, but even-handed justice will inquire what the aristocracy of the industrial world are doing to make the Knights of Labor superfluous. Let the salt of this world prove its saltiness by its refreshing and saving power! To the thinker, before whose bar every man of action must in the end appear, to justify himself and his works, an employer content with simply opposing the follies of 'organized labor' has lost his savor. Only a change of head and a change of heart will save him from condemnation by that public opinion to which master and men are alike subject.

The duty of the employer to-day is plain, to take wise forward steps and do his share in the evolution of modern industry." "The gospel and the law which should be vigorously declared to employers of labor as a class is not that the whole state of things which renders them possible is to be abolished, and that their great ability for business is henceforth to count for nothing: but rather that their present individualism is on a low plane; that they do not steadily show themselves such leaders as they might well be; that they fail to rise to the level of their opportunity; and that their wealth has grown faster than their disposition or ability to make the best use of it."

EDWARD W. BEMIS.

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E. R. L. GOULD, PH. D., *The Social Condition of Labor*. Baltimore : The Johns Hopkins Press, 1893. 8vo., pp. 42.

DR. GOULD is the well-known assistant of Mr. Carroll D. Wright in the Department of Labor, and in this monograph gives us some of the results of the study which that department has been making as to the cost of production of certain manufactured articles. The investigation was entered upon at the request of the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, but we are assured, and those who have studied the returns are convinced, that the work has been non-partisan and unbiased by political considerations.

The facts presented in the present essay go to prove the generally-accepted theory that the laborer is better paid and also better-housed clothed and fed in America than in Europe. At the same time the author denies that European labor is, as a rule, worthy of the characterization "pauper." The differences between American and European labor are not so striking as the majority of people have supposed, but they do exist, and they are in the direction of greater general prosperity for the former. They are worthy of very minute study, and this they cannot be said to have received in the book before us, which is merely suggestive. Still, the work is by no means of small value, for in it the author has not only suggested a number of interesting points, but in so doing has indicated several paths for future investigations that may be expected to render rich returns to the student who shall follow them.

Perhaps the most interesting suggestion is the one brought out in connection with Table VIII., p. 34. Here are presented the facts for